

SETTLEMENTS AND HABITAT ¹

THE CONDITIONING ROLE OF URBAN SPACE IN POSADAS, ARGENTINA.

ASENTAMIENTOS Y HÁBITAT
EL ROL CONDICIONANTE DEL ESPACIO URBANO EN POSADAS, ARGENTINA

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El caso de la ciudad de Posadas (Argentina) evidencia la relevancia del entorno urbano para las condiciones de vida en los asentamientos. Se analizan aquí las especificidades de los asentamientos, considerando que el entorno urbano de su localización juega un papel importante en términos de oportunidades y restricciones para la calidad de vida de sus habitantes. Metodológicamente, este trabajo se basa en un análisis multimodal y descriptivo, apoyado en entrevistas a vecinos y líderes comunitarios, y complementado a través de información documental. La investigación privilegia la importancia de la espacialidad urbana, explorando cómo se articulan las prácticas y procesos sociales desde el espacio interior del hábitat de los asentamientos con el espacio urbano exterior y circundante. La principal contribución del manuscrito sugiere que, más allá de los problemas multidimensionales del hábitat y de la pobreza de su población, son las características del espacio de la ciudad donde se ubican, las que condicionan más fuertemente la evolución de los asentamientos.

Palabras clave: ciudad, servicios públicos, espacio urbano, hábitat.

The case of Posadas (Argentina) shows the relevance of the urban environment for living conditions in settlements. The particularities of settlements are analyzed here, considering that the urban environment of their location plays an important role in terms of opportunities and restrictions for the quality of life of their inhabitants. Methodologically, this work is based on a multimodal and descriptive analysis, supported by interviews with neighbors and community leaders, and complementing the analysis with documentary information. The research privileges the importance of urban spatiality, exploring how social practices and processes are articulated from the space within the habitat of settlements and the surrounding urban space outside them. The main contribution of the manuscript suggests that, beyond the multidimensional problems of the habitats and the poverty of its population, the characteristics of the city space where they are located are the ones that most strongly condition the evolution of the settlements.

Keywords: city, public services, urban space, habitat.

I. INTRODUCTION

The different urban spaces are an expression of socio-spatial inequalities and the distribution of opportunities and resources (Capdevielle, 2014). Urban spatiality and its relationship with settlements constitute a problematized interface in this article, in terms of the implications for the habitat and the living conditions of families. Along with poverty, urban spatiality adjacent to settlements entails conditioning factors, which constrain and/or enable certain social practices and access to resources. The case study addressed here offers clues to resize the importance of urban space.

The objective of the study is to know the structures of opportunities and/or adversities linked to the location of settlements within the urban space. Methodologically, the research is multimodal, descriptive, and exploratory. It tries, at the same time, to resize the complexity and heterogeneity of settlements in several aspects: the dimensions of its size/density, the time of consolidation (historicity), its location in the context of the city, the dynamic demands of its inhabitants, the opportunities and/or threats of the context, and its relationship with urban law.

In urban research, spatiality is fundamental, as poverty and inequality are expressed in cities (Ziccardi, 2019), and the heterogeneity of poverty is projected in the urban space (Katzman, 1999). The importance of space entails various externalities linked to the location of the dwelling, as there are social and economic opportunities associated with its location (Oszlak, 2017). So, it is necessary to understand the space from the articulation between the material and the non-material (Chanampa and Lorda, 2019). It is a perspective that recognizes "situated social action" (Corcuff, 2016) in concrete contexts.

In Posadas and its suburban area, there are 91 settlements that, at the time of being censused, were technically defined by the absence of ownership in the land occupation and the constructive informality of the houses and the surroundings. Apart from the shared characteristics and the processes of social production of the intervening habitat, it is stated here that settlements are not part of a monolithic reality, since they are not all the same, and their study cannot be disassociated from the conditions of their location in urban space. The structural disadvantages and adversities inherent in each settlement, receive the influences of the environment where it is located, so the differential location intervenes as a structure of opportunities and/or adversities for the local life of its residents.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

An approach to the conceptualization of settlements

Settlements have been defined in different ways, as spaces of uncertainty, instability, and vulnerability (Perlman, 2019), as marginality housing, inadequate housing, lack of integration and state actions (Abufhele, 2019), as "informal development" (Clichevsky, 2009), and have even been recognized as forms of urban growth (García Hernández, 2006). In line with these ideas, Cravino and Vommaro (2018) point out that settlements or land grabs are ways to self-solve housing needs, also constituting another way of self-urbanizing the city.

According to Clichevsky (2009), settlements, as a result of an informal socio-urban process, can be grouped based on two transgressions: (1) those that affect the ownership of the occupied area; and (2) those that derive from the urbanization process. The former refers to both the occupation of public or private lands and individual or collective seizures, irregular lots, etc., where there is no possession of a property deed. The second refers to the occupation of land without urban-environmental conditions to be used as residential. In both situations, the illegality of access to land leads to the informality of neighborhood and housing construction (Clichevsky, 2009).

In the case of other Latin American experiences, settlements have been understood as "poverty territories", where the types of housing marginality have led the State to generate an association between poverty and settlement (Abufhele, 2019). It is important to analyze the situation of settlements in terms of "urban inequalities" and the implications of urban development and the legal city. Urban regulation, the legal-judicial system, and the urban planning of cities operate in an exclusionary way (Torres and Ruiz-Tagle, 2019). The emergence of neoliberal urbanism establishes a market logic, of cost-benefit in the intervention, characterized by promoting government actions concomitant with the market and private real estate development. Simultaneously, the city reproduces very precarious urban structures (Brites, 2017).

Despite the multiple risk situations related to the context of poverty and precariousness that impose major constraints, it is necessary to recover the active and creative role of the residents, as habitat producers, under adverse conditions. The Social Production of

Habitat (SPH) is understood as “all those processes that generate habitable spaces, urban components, and housing that are built under the control of self-developers and other social agents that operate on a not-for-profit basis” (Flores Ortiz, 2012, p. 73). On the other hand, SPH includes a diversity of practices ranging from the construction of neighborhoods in land grabs or slums, and the erection of cooperative housing, to family self-construction and the collective and organized self-management of its residents (Zapata, 2016).

The self-construction of housing and the provision of services by its residents can be seen as a response to the “logic of necessity” (Abramo, 2012), where the social organization operates as an urban developer (Torres and Ruiz-Tagle, 2019). In this sense, territorial control is given by the processes of organization and local leadership, as a strategy to achieve urban conditions of habitability (Vega Martínez, Hernández Buelvas, and Barbera Alvarado, 2019).

Settlements and urban spatiality in the city

Settlements, in terms of urban spatiality, can be understood as the socio-spatial construction of places, based on social practices and ways of inhabiting the city (Araya-Ramírez, 2018). From the point of view of policies, urban materiality is objectified in the space, and conditions social practices, without ignoring that people build and de-build the space and habitat where they live. Everyday practices in urban space mediate among social groups and structures and institutions (Jirón and Lange, 2017). Social actors reproduce, but they are also agents of transformation and socio-urban change. They define situations, construct problems and needs, reflect, act, and develop a praxis. This is an assumption that derives from the theory of structuring. The “structuring”, typical of all human activity, is a recursive process of action-structure in the framework of a space-time conjuncture (Giddens, 1995).

From a transversal perspective, it can be said that, among the poor population, participation is crucial to transforming the material conditions of existence. In this line, the production of socio-spatial links (Borroeta, Pinto de Carvalho, Di Masso, and Ossul Vermehren, 2017), articulated to shared needs, becomes a powerful facilitator of collective action logics, which are objectified in space.

In cities, people have opportunity structures that are defined as probabilities of access to goods and

services, or the performance of certain activities. In general terms, opportunities have an impact on the well-being of households, as they allow or facilitate their members to use their own resources (Katzman, 1999). Thus, according to Katzman (1999), the concept of assets does not reach an unambiguous meaning if it is not articulated in the structures of opportunities that are generated from the State sector, the market, and civil society. Considering that all households have resources that can turn into assets, which make it possible to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the environment, this research ventures into those opportunity structures, specifically, those that allude to the externalities linked to urban space.

It is essential to recognize the importance of that which is typical of the person in spatial experience (Prieto Peinado, 2014). Along these lines, as will be seen in the case of Posadas, although the settlements express a heterogeneity of characteristics and conditions, in them, their inhabitants are habitat producers who face both the opportunities and the hostilities inherent to the urban environment they inhabit.

III. CASE STUDY

Posadas is a medium-sized city (383,000 inhabitants in its suburban area), characterized by having gone through an urban transformation on its coastal front, parallel to the increase in population with high levels of poverty and homelessness 33.6% (Provincial Institute of Statistics and Censuses [IPEC], 2020). A survey carried out between 2014 and 2015 by the Municipality of Posadas (2015) registered 63 settlements with 5,302 households. Meanwhile, by 2018, the National Register of Popular Neighborhoods detected 67 settlements in Posadas and another 24 in its conurbation area, Garupá (National Register of Popular Neighborhoods [RENABAP], 2018). Beyond district boundaries and disparate figures, many of these settlements have common characteristics.

This research aims at resizing the study of settlements, analyzing how the population experiences the typical effects of poverty, on being accompanied by the unique conditions of the urban and socio-spatial context they live in. Therefore, as a starting point, it is felt that the experiences that manifest themselves in the settlements cannot be understood from an insular approach, but rather it is essential to circumscribe them to the more general context of the urban



Figure 1. Map of Posadas and the urban areas studied Source: Preparation by the Author.

transformation of Posadas. Settlements are not closed units, and their inhabitants, regardless of segregation, are exposed to some form of articulation with socio-urban processes.

Faced with this panorama, given its location in space, three types of settlements can be operationally distinguished: (a) in the context of urban revaluation, (b) in the context of urban consolidation, and (c) in the context of urban expansion (Figure 1). This typology allows approaching the complex dimensions of living regarding the structuring conditions of socio-spatial inequalities.

IV. METHODOLOGY

This research was based on fieldwork carried out between 2018 and 2019 in different settlements located in different urban contexts of Posadas. During the first year, the settlements were visited and a record was taken of the infrastructure and services available in the surroundings. In a second stage, in 2019, 40 qualitative interviews were conducted with neighbors and community leaders. The choice of the informants was based on how long they have lived there and their

involvement in the organizational processes to improve the habitat.

In its quantitative phase, the study made progress in the statistical analysis of secondary information from several agencies, such as the diagnosis of the situation of settlements in Posadas (Municipality of Posadas, 2015), and data from the National Registry of Neighborhoods (RENABAP, 2018). The information collection provided by both censuses made it possible to triangulate information and reveal new emerging categories involved in the analysis of the problem, mainly those related to habitat, urban services, and infrastructure.

For the geolocation of the settlements in the different urban areas of the city, the OpenStreetMap platform was used. Meanwhile, for the adjustment and spatial delimitation of some settlements, the GRASSGIS software was used, through which maps on urban routes, public infrastructure, and services were prepared (Figure 2). The empirical material analyzed described different dimensions linked to housing, services, and infrastructures, such as roads, water, and energy networks, transport, employment activities, the construction of collective spaces, environmental adversities such as landfills or wastewater, etc. All of these dimensions have been useful for the construction of categories.

The operational distinction of the three types of settlements made it possible to examine different situations: those closest to the urban downtown and coastal areas (urban revaluation context); the settlements that are located closer to the city center, where services in the immediate surroundings are abundant (urban consolidation context); and, finally, settlements that are farther away and relegated, with limited services and different adversities (urban sprawl context). All of these situations do not determine but do condition, the quality of life, and the habitat in the settlements studied.

The hypothesis suggests that, apart from the possibilities of population agency, the social production processes of the habitat make differential use of the resources of the environment, since the heterogeneity of Posadas settlements is conditioned by the externalities (infrastructure and services) of the environment adjacent to the urban space. In other words, the unique characteristics of each settlement are also conditioned by the different urban contexts where each settlement is located.

V. RESULTS

Settlements in the context of urban revaluation

It can be said that the settlements discussed here have received infrastructure improvements and services in the immediate surroundings. They are located in areas of influence of the new

city waterfront (coastal area) and, therefore, in the new public and/or recreation spaces set up, such as parks, green areas, etc. The most evident one is the proximity to the central areas of the city, where infrastructure networks and services are qualitatively superior to other areas.

Despite the precarious and informal working conditions the inhabitants have here, access to the labor market is broader and urban transport is not an unavoidable necessity for mobility, since for many people "everything is close and there are always odd jobs". In addition, there is a greater possibility of contact with groups from high social strata, which is very useful for activities such as domestic service. The surrounding urban space also facilitates self-employment practices, such as street vending in the public spaces along the waterfront.

Among other features, it can be noted that the habitat of these settlements is developed in a contradictory urban setting. On one hand, they are located in highly revalued and beautified urban environments (close to parks or green spaces) and, on the other, are located in the interstices, where the what is inside them, the provision of infrastructure and services is still precarious and/or lacking, but accessible. It is clear that the places these settlements occupy are interstitial remnants, but strategic in the urban context. They are remnants in the face of the infrastructure works that the formal city was leaving behind, and are strategic in the face of structures of opportunities their location grants (proximity to work, services, new spaces for recreation, etc.).

Despite the set of circumstances that can be seen as a very advantageous opportunity structure for the population, urban renewal and the increase in urban quality in the residential environment promote threatening removal processes. Indeed, the confluence of urban materials, with new uses and valuations of new spaces, is energizing different interests in their occupation.

The changes in the environment have placed the settlements in revalued areas, prone to new visibilities and arising both from proposals of official intervention plans and from the presence and claims of supposed private owners who demand possession of the land. Situations where threats and still unresolved litigation have emerged (Cerro Pelón, Viejo Rowing, and Ch. 210). These legal and juridical intimidation practices make the future life in these settlements even more uncertain.

Under given experiences, beyond those linked to the evolution of the SPH, within the settlements, their inhabitants have shown some consolidation of the collective action against eviction attempts, as happened in Chakra 189, in 2016, where the resistance of its occupants, and the struggle articulated towards social and political movements, thwarted the eviction. Residents of the San Roque and Cerro Pelón settlements have also resisted similar attempts.

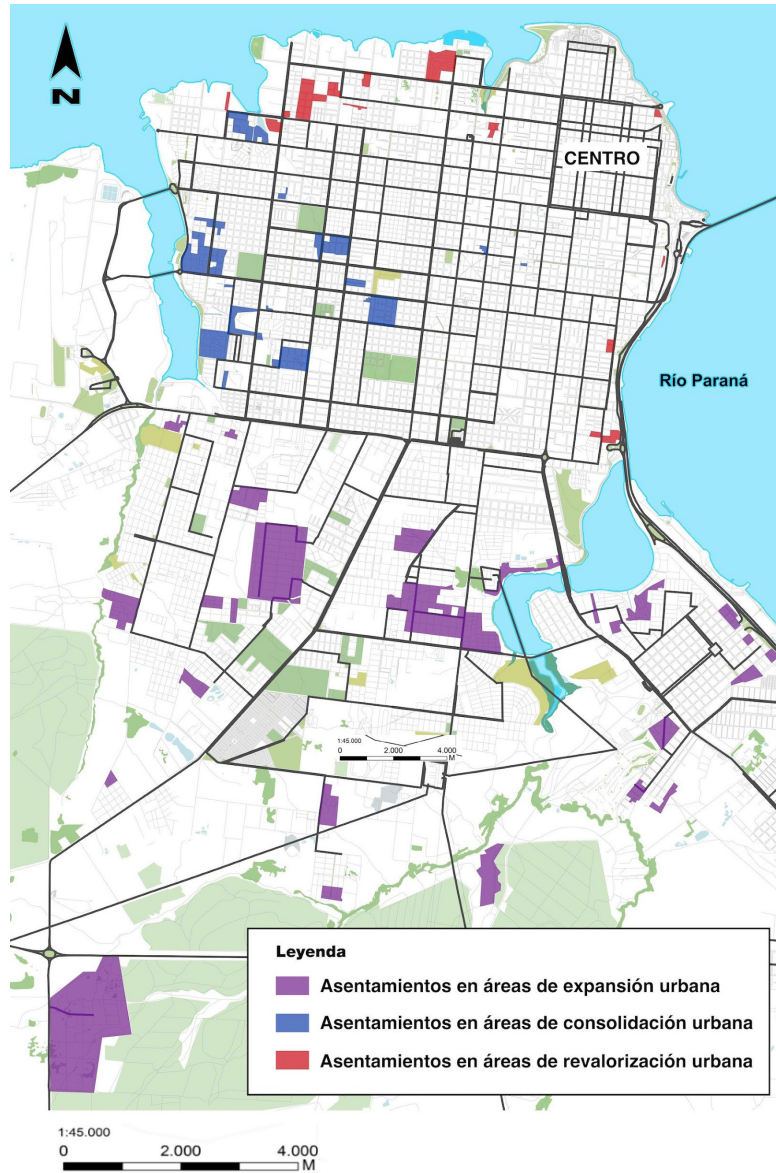


Figure 2. Map of Posadas and georeferencing of the types of settlements. Source: Preparation by the author, based on RENABAP 2018.

Settlements in the context of urban consolidation

Settlements in the context of urban consolidation are located in areas where the urban fabric has become denser, exhausting (and saturating) large remaining spaces for new neighborhoods. The population, the greater construction activities, and the density of service networks and infrastructure, make commercial, labor, educational, and recreational activities possible, which have the potential to be articulated to the place of residence. In this way, these are

settlements that have remained over time, in a context where the dynamics of urbanization processes were consolidating, with more and better facilities and services: schools, healthcare centers, transportation, shops, recreational spaces, etc.

All of these settlements are located, more or less, in the heart of the consolidated urban fabric. The area covers Uruguay Ave. to the coast of the Martires stream (east-west) and from Centennial Ave. to Quaranta Ave. (north-south). Specifically,

they are located in the boundary of the so-called Chacras, partially occupying them and coexisting with other social sectors (Figure 3).

Many of these settlements have been where they are for decades, and neighborhood associations (neighborhood commissions) have fostered social production of habitat processes for the improvement and organization of the collective spaces, such as football pitches, soup kitchens, churches, etc. In other experiences, self-management practices have been combined with claims to improve services (water and energy), build sewerage systems, improve access roads, etc.

Beyond the activities carried out by the residents themselves to improve their habitat, the consolidation of the surrounding urban space facilitated a set of very profitable externalities for local life. In this way, a public project, the extension of pavement, water network, or social housing plan, has led to the growth of an area, bringing infrastructure and services that, later, have been useful for the inhabitants. As examples of the above, Chacras 96, 101, 112, 126, and 127 can be mentioned, where the large housing complexes built by Yacyretá also enabled schools, healthcare centers, squares, and other community facilities that, later, were appropriated by the residents of the area's settlements, just as one of those interviewed by this study comments: "We have been here in Yohasá (Ch.112) since 1975, this area was not so beautiful, then with the Yacyretá houses, more people came and the government fixed more things, there are more services now" (Interview Ch. 112).

To the west, near the Villa Cabello housing complex, the settlements of Chacras 158 and 159 (La Favela) take advantage of the services and infrastructure of the surroundings such as the Regional Hospital, the different schools, Sarmiento Park, and the broad commercial area on Tambor de Tacuari Ave. In the opinion of a neighbor of Chacra 158, "it is not necessary to go downtown, everything you need is in the area". The area also makes it possible to work in informal jobs, as there are car washes, motorcycle workshops, grocers, small shops, etc. Some neighbors have stated that they work in domestic service or street vending.

In summary, despite poverty and precarious living conditions, the residents of these settlements have been able to make the most of the advantages and externality of the surroundings, which shows the importance of the articulation of local life with adjoining socio-urban processes.

Settlements in the context of urban expansion

In general, these types of settlements are located to the south and southwest of the city. More than two decades ago, this area of the city had remnants of land for urban expansion.

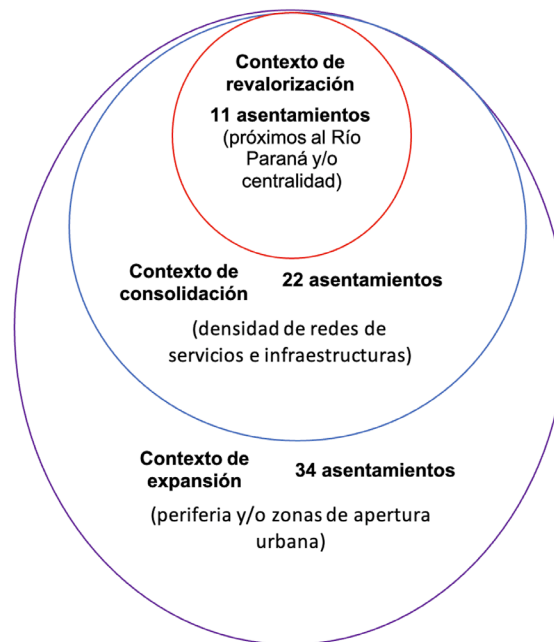


Figure 3. Settlements according to the urban context. Source: Preparation by the author.

Between the 1980s and 1990s, neighborhoods were built on lots for lower and middle-income sectors, where the relicts of the hills and large green areas made spaces for the construction of housing complexes possible, while the "occupation or land grabs" by the poor social sectors and without possibilities of formal access to land and housing, began.

Despite the inherent adversities in the settlements, the issues they experience have different magnitudes, such as the distances to the city center, the deficits in transport and services, dirt streets, poor infrastructure, environmental pollution, etc. The hostile spatial limitations, within each settlement (intricate corridors, overcrowding, lack of streets, flooding, terrain issues, etc.), are magnified by the external spatial arrangements, adjacent to the settlements of the periphery suburban territory.

The inhabitants of the most distant settlements are aware that they live in remote, poorly communicated areas, with scarce and deficient services that enhance their isolation and vulnerability. Remoteness can also be interpreted as disadvantageous, both for leaving the neighborhood and looking for work, and their integration with other social sectors.

In the periphery, not only the location of settlements is problematic, but also, in many cases, the terrain and

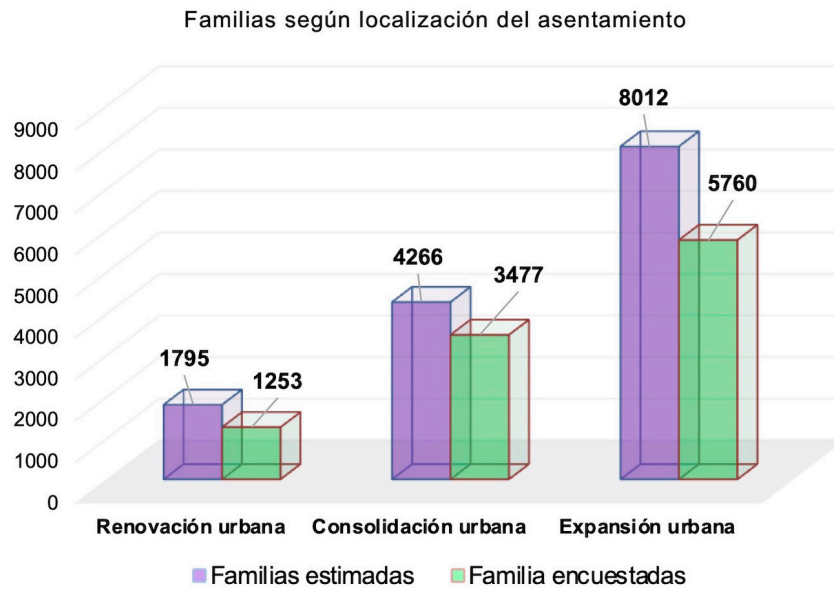


Figure 4. Families according to the location of the settlement in the urban context. Source: Preparation by the author based on RENABAP 2018.

composition of the soil they occupy (muddy, stony, unstable soils, etc.). The construction of settlements on land unsuitable for urbanization and without prior treatment has been generating repeated problems, as occurs in sectors of Los Lapachitos, where flooding or waterlogging is worsened on rainy days, due to the lack of piping for drains. Located on the edge of the mighty Zaimán Stream and steep terrain, the La Tablada, La Cantera, and Villa Cariño settlements go through critical situations with heavy rains, and even though some families have been relocated to homes in Iprodha (San Jorge), those who have remained have not seen an improvement in their living with the fluvial works that have been carried out (**Figure 4**).

VI. DISCUSSION

In general terms, in the Posadas settlements, poverty levels are pressing and create synergy with the lack of work or with precarious, intermittent, and piecemeal employment. To survive, families develop access strategies to goods and services there. However, the urban context and its spatiality are conditioning factors when accessing resources, such as sources of employment, shops, healthcare services, education establishments, etc.

The habitat of the poorest forms an ecology of poverty and ecosystems to which its inhabitants must adapt to survive

(Daher Hechem and Sandoval Luna, 2016). Although the settlements have shared characteristics - poverty, precarious employment, housing deficit, irregular access to services, etc. -, the fact that their inhabitants are habitat producers (Brites and Ávalos, 2020) cannot be forgotten. On the other hand, urban space provides opportunities that the residents can take advantage of (Katzman, 1999). Hence, it is necessary to rescue the importance of socio-spatial links (Borroeta *et al.*, 2017).

The settlements, in the context of urban revaluation, enjoy the best locations, proximity to the riverfront, and to the neuralgic urban areas, where the service and infrastructure networks are optimal. The urban work market is more dynamic and has social and spatial proximity to other social sectors. Therefore, it demonstrates more right to urban space, as Oszlak (2017) would say. On the opposite side, the settlements in the context of urban expansion are, for the most part, on the periphery, on the outskirts of the city, where there is greater socio-spatial segregation, precarious and deficient services, and worse environmental conditions. It is a space where the problems of poverty are resized. Thus, for the poorest families, environmental problems related to waste and landfills are an aspect that contributes to deepening the inequalities of opportunities and possibilities between the different social sectors (Gómez, 2016). This is a phenomenon that is also interpreted in terms of socio-environmental segregation (Salgado, Romero, Vásquez, and Fuentes, 2009).

In a relatively intermediate situation, the settlements are located in the context of urban consolidation, where families who have progressively seen improvements in public works and urban equipment in the built environment reside. The adjoining territory provides the necessary externalities for life and, in many cases, urbanization programs have been implemented within the settlements. These areas of urban consolidation are the result of a temporary structuring (Aguilar Díaz, 2011) and the construction of a way of life that develops in parallel to the urbanization process.

At the socio-territorial level, the distant location of settlements with respect to the areas with the greatest urban consolidation of the city, imposes some obstacles and limitations, fundamentally for urban mobility (transport costs and remoteness from centrality), so that physical distance has an impact on social distance (Brites, 2019). In addition, the drinking water and electricity services are precarious: intermittent power cuts, lack of public lighting, low pressure in the water networks, etc. A structural problem becomes visible that not even the irregular/informal connection made by the inhabitants themselves can solve.

The settlements located in the southernmost periphery present an inherent uniqueness to the environment, since the prevailing natural countryside landscape, low population density, and abundant vegetation, make these areas have more rural than urban characteristics (el Piedral, Estepa, Paraísos, Los Patitos, El Porvenir, Néstor Kirchner, Belén settlements, etc.). The space they occupy conditions the poor connection with the city, the inhospitable places aggravate the condition of structural shortcomings, reinforce the deprivation of access to fundamental urban services, hinder the quality of life, and perpetuate socio-spatial distances. In this sense, the more peripheral the settlements are located, the more segregated they are.

Despite the collective activities of social production of habitat that can be found (the opening of internal corridors, filling the land, setting up football pitches, the extension of street lighting, etc.), the precarious conditions of these settlements are compounded by the shortage or lack of infrastructure and services in the suburban area. At a habitat level, the issue of environmental sanitation is another variable to be taken into account in the sanitary vulnerability of the population, since environmental deterioration and the formation of landfills feed the production of a more precarious habitat. Inside, there is no waste collection service (except in adjoining spaces) and garbage is often disposed of by open burning it, which pollutes the air and soil, with all the consequences this implies for people's health (inhalation of toxic gases, heavy metals, particulate matter, etc.).

In the areas that are most integrated into the urban space, the inhabitants of the settlements enjoy job opportunities, access to service networks, proximity to shops, etc. While in the peripheral and more remote areas, the services of the environment are more precarious, deficient, and depend on urban transport, work is scarce, and the environmental deterioration is notorious.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

The case study found that the poverty situation in the settlements is not *per se* the only adversity that affects the living conditions of its residents, but it is necessary to resize the implications of the differential urban space where they are located. The built environment restrains and/or enables better living conditions in settlements, in terms of structures of opportunities and/or adversities linked to the habitat.

Urban space provides externalities for urban life. Therefore, it plays a conditioning role in the habitat of settlements. The advantages and disadvantages of the urban territory should be viewed dynamically and as unstable. The findings evidenced in the case studied suggest the following:

- In the areas of urban revaluation, settlements have certain environmental benefits: there is proximity to the urban labor market, services, and infrastructure, and urban transport is not a necessity. However, the context of revaluation is also one of renewal. Real estate pressure is pressing, urban legislation is more restrictive, and intervention programs are emerging. A situation is then revealed that threatens (via eviction) the permanence of the settlements.
- Settlements located in areas of urban consolidation are located in areas full of services and infrastructure. The city was growing and they were left in the middle of the consolidated urban fabric. Inside the settlements, the habitat has benefited from the opportunities of the surroundings.
- In the areas of urban expansion, the settlements are located farther from downtown, in the context of the sprawl of the urban fabric. They often occupy leftover spaces, where services are deficient or absent. In the distant and discontinuous periphery of the urban fabric, socio-spatial segregation is a problem. Urban legislation is more permissive and flexible. There are new and intermittent encroachments, landfills, waste burning, and environmental adversities.

Despite the particularities of the Posadas case, the categories presented here could have a potential heuristic contribution to the analysis of other similar experiences in the Latin American context. Poverty and settlements are linked, in fact, to survival strategies, and the reproductive resources needed to face life. Urban externalities close to places of life are associated, hence the location of the neighborhood plays a vital role. Transport, healthcare, education, security, drinking water, municipal services, leisure spaces, etc., are factors that optimize the material conditions of the existence of households.

Finally, the research tried to generate new empirical contributions to the conceptual reflection, from the approach of new questions and alternative analytical dimensions. A task that, undoubtedly, more than just knowing, led to discussing and seeing the importance of the right to the city and urban spatiality for living conditions in settlements.

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